

Thom

HUMANITIES
LIBRARY

MUNGER AFRICANA

CALIFORNIA
INSTITUTE OF

JUN 28 1971

TECHNOLOGY



LIBRARY NOTES

4

Notes from the Munger Africana Library, issued occasionally, are eclectic within the field of Africana. They include unpublished historical documents, current field research reports, significant statistics gathered in the field, library-based analysis, and other material deemed useful to Africanists.

Most of the material will be generated from the library and from work in progress at the California Institute of Technology by faculty, distinguished visitors, and research assistants.

The Editorial Advisory Committee is drawn from Africanists at the Institute who have themselves published research on African topics. They include: Robert Bates (PhD MIT) Political Science; Margaret Rouse Bates (MA Harvard) Political Science; Kenneth Frederick (PhD MIT) Economics; Robert Huttenback (PhD UCLA) History; Edwin Munger (PhD Chicago) Political Geography, Editor; Robert Oliver (PhD Princeton) Economics.

Thayer Scudder (PhD. Harvard) Anthropology

Assistant Editors: Monique Le Blanc (MA UCLA) African Studies; Joanne Goldmann (BA CSCLA) English.

Bibliographer: Edith Fisher (BA CSCLA)

Business Manager: Kathie Marcum

Needless to say, viewpoints expressed in these occasional notes are solely the responsibility of the individual authors and may or may not have the concurrence of the editorial advisory committee. We seek exposure of facts and ideas, not the dissemination of dogma.

Correspondence should be addressed to:
The Munger Africana Library
California Institute of Technology
Pasadena, California 91109

Subscriptions are \$10 a year. Prices of individual issues vary, but the total cost of all single issues during the year will be in excess of \$10.

© 1971 California Institute of Technology

MUNGER AFRICANA LIBRARY NOTES

One Dollar

Issue #4

May 1971

HOW BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN VISITORS VIEW THE U. S.

Preface

Throughout its history, America has been the object of fascination, compliments, and criticism for visitors. De Tocqueville and Bryce in the previous century and many European and other travellers in this century have made a variety of observations. But there is no account of how visiting Africans from the Republic of South Africa have reacted.

While this NOTE focuses on black South African visitors to the United States during the 1960's, during the 19th century there were also a number of visitors. In addition, many of the most important African leaders have visited the United States earlier in this century.

When Roy Wilkins of the NAACP* was a guest in the editor's home, he was questioned sharply by some of the other guests about South Africa. Mr. Wilkins prefaced his answers by relating the surprise he felt during a conversation he had with one of his close college friends at the University of Minnesota, the late Dr. A. B. Xuma, who was one of the the key presidents of the African National Congress. Wilkins related how he was amazed to discover that Dr. Xuma could not be admitted to the Minneapolis medical society because Xuma was black. However, back in Johannesburg, Xuma said, he was looking forward to active membership in the local society of doctors. The situation has changed in the subsequent generation, but earlier African visitors felt the sting of American prejudice to an extent rarely if ever encountered today.

*National Association for the Advancement of Colored
People

A number of the early African visitors were related to church work. In 1892, Reverend Mangena Mokone broke away from the Wesleyan Church, and four years later he visited the United States for the purpose of joining his Ethiopian Church with the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Among a dozen other visitors of this period were Reverend Henry R. Ngcayiya, who subsequently became the chaplain of the African National Congress when it was formed in 1912. One visitor, Reverend John G. Xaba, died in Atlanta in 1904 and is buried there.

The visit of Reverend James Mata Dwana in 1896 led to his appointment as General Superintendent of the African Methodist Episcopal Church for South Africa. This provoked a stormy reaction from his fellow clergymen at home. He received little financial help from America and angrily rebelled, declaring that the Bantu had never been slaves and should not be governed by those Americans who had been.

An early degree holder from South Africa was Charlotte Manye, who received her B.S. from Wilberforce in 1905. Later she founded and became president of the women's section of the A.N.C.

Solomon Tshekiso Plaatje, in the 1920's, was probably the first African from the then Union of South Africa to really make a public tour of the U. S. He was a productive writer of novels, and a talented translator, specializing in such things as the translation of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar into Tswana. Politically active, he was one of a group who tried to present a case for Africa at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919. He attended the Pan-African Congress organized by W. E. B. Du Bois, and then toured the North American continent, lecturing on South Africa. His pamphlet, "The Mote and the Beam," sold over 18,000 copies and helped to finance his trip.

Nearly all the key figures in the founding of the African National Congress did visit the United States. The first President General, John Langalibalele Dube, had come in the 1880's and returned many times after that. He was of the Zulu royal house and, like so many Zulus, got to know Americans through Adams College (then the American Mission Board School). Dube was a close friend of Booker T. Washington's. He started a number of institutions in South Africa modeled on those in the U. S., including an industrial school in Natal at the time of the South African or Boer War. Dube has indicated that the organization of the A.N.C. in 1912 was modeled on American organizations. Today one of the most fashionable African townships of Johannesburg is named for him.

Many years after Mr. Dube's attendance there, Albert

John Luthuli left teaching at Adams College to become a minor chief in Zululand. Later, he was president of the A.N.C. during stormy times, and he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Luthuli relates his impressions of the United States in his autobiography.

A young man present at the founding of the A.N.C. in Bloemfontein was J. R. Rathebe, who is currently Vice Chairman of the Urban Bantu Council in Soweto.* Rathebe recounted to the editor his favorable impressions of the United States as well as instances where he was met with sharp racial discrimination. His stay in America was during the 1930's, and the depression made a profound impact on him. New York was a bleak place in 1937 when Rathebe and Dr. Xuma went down to the docks to wish bon voyage to a young man who had just finished his medical training in America, Kamuzu Banda, who is now President of Malawi.

Pixley ka Izaka took a B.A. degree at Columbia, was the first treasurer of the A.N.C., later its president, and then the editor of the first African newspaper which had any real political thrust.

Throughout the late 19th century and early in the 20th, it was the American missionaries, both black and white, who were influential in getting black South Africans to the United States. This was true of the Congregationalists who, in 1910, brought Walter Rubusana, the only African to be elected to the Cape Provincial Council (equivalent to an American state legislature). Two years later, Mr. Rubusana also became a Vice President of the A.N.C.

Z. K. Matthews, whose career included being a professor in South Africa, a key official of the World Council of Churches in Switzerland, and Ambassador of Botswana to the United Nations (like his cousin, Sol Plaatje, he was a Motswana), took his M.A. degree at Yale and felt thoroughly at home in the United States.

A man who knew many of the earlier African visitors intimately was the first principal of Fort Hare (South Africa), Alexander Kerr. Born in the United Kingdom, Kerr began his shepherding of the institution in 1915. On a visit to the United States in 1922, he made discerning observations on race relations in the two countries. He noted the absence in the United States of "anything like the acute apprehension in the White group" in South Africa. The South African whites feared "that

*South Western Townships as an entity--the main African residential area of greater Johannesburg.

their identity might be lost in the mass of Africans." While he noted fear was a factor in southern states having a high percentage of Negroes, the South African fear of submergence was never evident in Americans. Secondly, Kerr found racial patterns in the United States much simplified by there being only two (as he saw it) racial groups--white and Negro--without the Coloured and Asian minorities of the Union. This was obviously previous to public recognition of Spanish-speaking minorities and American Indians, but at a time when virulent discrimination was felt against the Chinese in California. Kerr did say that American Indians were so few in number as to be "negligible" in race politics. Thirdly, Kerr believed the use of a common language throughout America was an encouraging factor in assisting solutions to American racial problems, even though a telephone operator asked him to please speak "English." Kerr also observed that the schools provided a strong integrating force in U. S. society, a concept which the black South African visitors of the 1960's were still commenting upon.

The study of the attitudes of a few of the more prominent black South African visitors in the decades prior to this survey suggests that careful research of the earlier visitors' views would provide insightful comparisons with those of the later period.

* * * * *

As an aid to interpretation of this survey, four appendixes are attached. The first summarizes a then-confidential 1968 study by a market research firm of African attitudes towards the United States as conducted by African interviewers in the African townships of Johannesburg. For this high quality study we are indebted to President Lulu Grobbelaar of Media and Communications Research.

The second appendix of comments and tables is excerpted from an unpublished communication from Professor Edward Feit of the University of Massachusetts. His book on The African National Congress has been widely praised. In his communication, Dr. Feit summarizes some preliminary results of the image of the U. S. from 1955 to 1958 as reflected in selected African publications. His interesting analysis of what black South Africans were exposed to reading in the African press before their visits to the United States reveals an obvious relation to their reactions during their visits to, say, race relations as being better or worse than anticipated.

Appendix III presents the main portion of a 1963 Institute of Race Relations study insofar as it pertains to conceptions of the United

States held by middle class black South Africans living in Johannesburg. This is used with the permission of the Institute's Director, Reverend Fred Van Wyk.

The final appendix contains some of the results of a survey made through the mail in 1968 of white South African attitudes towards the U. S. For this material the editor is grateful to Dr. L. T. Badenhorst of Market and Opinion Surveys. As one table indicates, attitudes towards the United States are the most favorable among those who have visited it, next among those in close contact with American visitors to South Africa, and least favorable among those who fall into neither of those categories. However, this does not necessarily prove that visiting the U. S. or knowing Americans improves opinions, but could rather be an indication of a self-selection process in which the most pro-American South Africans would choose to visit the U. S. and to have American friends, while those who are antagonistic would not care for either.

The same factor certainly operates to some unmeasured extent among potential black South African visitors. The editor has met a few African citizens of the Republic, both inside and outside its borders, who are contemptuous of the United States and use such phrases to describe it as "fascist pig state" or "racialistic society." These facts must be kept in mind while evaluating some of the encomiums of the following survey.

* * * * *

Before summarizing the view of over 60 visitors who came to the United States during the past decade, several factors which influenced the sources of this NOTE must be described. First, we are concerned with visitors who subsequently returned to South Africa. The views of black South African exiles living in the United States might be quite different because of their longer residence here, a work rather than visitor status, and possibly a greater inclination on their part to compare and to contrast the U. S. A. and the R. S. A. It is the editor's impression that such individuals tend on the one hand to be far more outspoken in praising the United States and criticizing South Africa, while on the other they are often more critical and occasionally extremely bitter about their experiences in the United States.

Another qualification of this resume is that the visitors whose views are quoted are not representative of the black population of South Africa. They are far better educated. They are more urban. And they contain a higher percentage of teachers and businessmen than the total African population. Among the educated African visitors, most of

them have been less openly politically active than their peer group. This is clearly a factor in their ability to obtain a passport in the decade 1960-1970 which this analysis covers. Some who clearly have strong criticisms of their lot in South Africa are certainly hesitant to express such views, even by implication, in commenting on the United States. For example, we found nothing quotable by Reverend Seth Mokitimi, the elected leader of all white and black Methodists in South Africa. On another level, readers will recognize merely naive or inaccurate comments such as might characterize those of any foreign visitor to the U. S.

The terms people use in describing themselves or others have been preserved. It may be because the visitors were mostly middle-aged--there tended to be very few young people--that there was a strong preference for the term "Negro" rather than "Black" when reference was made to Americans of African descent, even though several visitors commented they felt the expression "Black" was preferred. Similarly, references to Bantu (which means "people") have been left as spoken or written.

Individual visitors are not identified by name. While care has been exercised that the sum total of quotations is balanced and representative of the sample, it has not seemed equitable to attribute isolated comments.

Approximately one-third of the sample were guests at the California Institute of Technology, and several conducted seminars in their specialized fields. In addition, material has been drawn from individual reports of exchangees under the United States-South African Leader Exchange Program, a non-profit foundation located at 41 West Putnam, Greenwich, Connecticut, which has exchanged over 200 black and white Americans and black and white South Africans. While quotations have been used with the approval of USSALEP, the organization is in no way responsible for the contents of this publication.

Attitudes towards the United States have been categorized into the following general topics: Education, Freedom--Uses and Abuses, Race Relations and Blackness, and General Comments.

E. S. M.

I.

Education

The sample gave almost unanimous praise for the teaching of scientific subjects in the United States, and frequently expressed views that visitors looked forward to applying within the South African system what they had learned while here.

An important African administrator commented favorably on the coordination of educational theory and practice in the U. S. He mentioned the role of the Federal government and state governments in ensuring minimum standards and in providing compensatory programs for the disadvantaged. These, he felt, could be applied with benefit to Bantu education in South Africa. On the other hand, he felt there were analogies between Bantu education in South Africa and the education of American Indians, in which the former had lessons for the latter. Most Africans exposed to Indian education in America tended to be critical of its quality and found it below the standards of their own education at home.

Africans were impressed by the general attitudes of American parents, and by their particular willingness to spend much money on the education and welfare of their children. Another positive factor was the extensive use of volunteer workers at elementary and secondary levels, and the research being done in universities on educational problem solving.

A Johannesburg science teacher noted far greater "pupil activity" and "exposing of pupils to new phenomena" as characteristic of new methods in contrast to what he labeled the old-fashioned "chalk and talk" methods he had long employed. A principal of a secondary school in the Cape Province said he would try harder on his return to encourage students "to a spirit of inquiry and discovery and how to make important relationships." He also stressed the importance of what he termed the "art of making careful and accurate observations."

At the university level, Africans felt there was a greater emphasis upon research than they were accustomed to at home, but at

the same time a greater application of knowledge and a more intimate involvement of universities with community problems. A member of the Transkeian education department was one of many visitors to observe what he felt was an abundance of facilities, a multiplicity of publications, and other factors which made the U. S. "ideal for a scholar." Such observations must be viewed against the background of academic affluence in the sixties. Visitors in the early seventies would no doubt hear talk of budget cuts, overcrowded classrooms, and the severe academic unemployment and cutback in funds for scholarship and research.

An inspector of Bantu schools observed that television has a two-way impact. On the one hand he felt it contributed to "a high level of general knowledge," but on the other, "the American child is a lazy reader." Another criticism by a minority was that America allowed "too much freedom of expression at home and in schools." The man who used that exact phrase also praised the emphasis upon individual instruction he had observed.

An African visitor five years ago under the then-existent Carnegie Corporation exchange program spoke for a number of people when he emphasized in his report that "bigness presents many problems for education in the United States." He felt that the United States is "a society not of men alone but of men and machines."

A participant at a summer science institute made these observations:

"What impressed me in this Summer Institute was the patience and diligence of the lecturers in dealing with those participants whose background knowledge was defective. While the object of covering a certain amount of prescribed work in time was not lost sight of, varying the pace to accord with the rate of understanding of the participants was the practice. Reviews were not uncommon when it was judged the pace had been too fast, nor was the elimination of material that it was felt was beyond the comprehension of the participants, in favor of what could guide them to a better understanding of it in future. This, to my mind, served the set purpose of these Summer Institutes, i. e., ensuring that the foundations of a thorough understanding of basic subject matter are laid in the average teacher before ambitiously lunging by forced marches into the realms of advanced work. Time is not wasted in proceeding in this way, for, when the average teacher understands the material he will better be able to explain it to the school child.

"The United States shares with other countries the disadvantage of a shortage of qualified Junior and Senior High School science and mathematics teachers, the reason for this being that as soon as these people become sufficiently qualified they become attracted to or absorbed by universities, industries and research work. It is therefore a wise step to concentrate on the training of those who remain. As Science and Mathematics are aptitude subjects, quick results may not be expected from such a mass science training program. An allowance of time for mastery has to be made for the average teacher, but the results will surely come.

"The second reason lies in what one observes in the programs drawn up for science and mathematics teaching, which is that whereas they are fairly smooth and palatable in the elementary and grade school, a sudden jump is made and they escalate very steeply at the Junior and Senior High School level, stampeded by the ambition to quickly catch up with the rapid advances of modern science. This ambition is good, but steps must be taken to smooth out the gradient to avoid strain and mental indigestion. This means that the science and mathematics educationists responsible for the drafting of the elementary and grade school programs must follow these up with Junior and Senior High School programs which maintain an imperceptible continuity into the high standard of these levels. Or, that any single science or mathematics program must be a continued series, revised annually to incorporate new knowledge, from elementary school to Senior High School. This will bring success in the study of these subjects nearer the reach of the average scholar or teacher.

"The lectures were not reaching far down enough to the basic needs of the Junior High School teacher, to enable him to define clearly and with confidence to the Junior High School child exactly where we are in science, making very sketchy reference to where we come from and merely pointing a finger to where we are going. The latter two could be given greater prominence and attention at the later stage of undergraduate level. I felt that the need for a Junior High School child to learn what is known in the shortest possible time and use it as it is used is more important at this stage than the history and research work attached to it. Point to point correspondence between the lectures and the practicals was also not always so maintained as to expel the lingering base of misty understanding of basic fundamentals by the participants."

A perceptive Transkeian, thinking of his own problems, commented:

"It is obvious that laboratories come first, but modern laboratories need two important modern facilities which are not available yet in the rural Secondary Schools of the Transkei, viz. laid on water schemes and electricity. In the absence of laid on water schemes the next solution one would think of is mobile science laboratory systems such as are used in some small schools of the United States. But, alas, these too require a 115 volt electric generator! This is a practical set of circumstances that causes one to say that one will go and see what one can do.

"If I could get 'Complete Mobile Science Laboratory' No. 71906 which costs \$595 in the United States, and a 115 volt electric generator I would install it in one of the schools in my inspectorial circuit and use it to conduct refresher courses for science teachers in my circuit. I reckon this small start would lead to something."

This desire to apply methods learned in America is a constant one. A teacher from the Cape Province concluded:

"As South Africa is certainly the industrial giant of the African Continent, our problems are very much akin to yours - at least in the technological sense. Education has therefore been regarded as an important item of national investment - even if it yields dividends much later. I shall help to further the teaching of science with a view to producing the broader outlook in my students at Kwazakele Secondary School, Port Elizabeth."

Inevitably, whether in South Africa or in America, the teacher who returns to the classroom to learn is likely to find vast changes. A high school biology teacher summarized:

"Contrary to the traditional way of teaching which was cramming of facts and too little spirit of inquiry, Modern Biology presents the subject matter in an investigating manner with development taking place step by step from sub-atomic particles to molecular basis of the cell right up to the Biosphere. A much broader chemical and biochemical background is necessary. This entails research. It evokes scientific inquiry which needs repeated observations, definition of a problem, postulation of a

hypothesis, experimentation and theory.

"Part of the work was altogether new to me and the vast revision of work done eighteen years ago. I had to read extensively and where necessary seek help to both the Lecturers and fellow participants, all so pleasantly disposed. The manner in which the lectures were presented made following up the work a real pleasure. I am grateful to them for their untiring patience in introducing me into the handling of modern science equipment.

"I gained much from the treatment of the scientific background, chemical background, molecular biology synthesis of macromolecules especially the synthesis of Nucleic Acids and their functions.

"Lively group discussions in molecular genetics on isolation and synthesis of the gene and its Biological Significance was one of the highlights of the courses, ending with a team paper on the work."

On the other hand, a university-level physics teacher from South Africa, who joined a group comprised of high school teachers from all over America, felt:

"In so far as learning new material is concerned, I did not gain anything. The topics treated were all too familiar to me to sustain my interest in the course. Nevertheless, I did learn how to organise such a course and present it effectively, and also I got to know good textbooks which cover this field. The general impression I got from other participants, most of whom were teachers at Senior Secondary Schools, is that although they enjoyed the lectures on this subject, the material was only remotely connected with what they actually teach. Thus, the course was of no immediate practical importance except in so far as they could improve their academic qualifications."

However, he found the course on Atomic Physics "very exciting. The prescribed textbook, which I saw for the first time, was really a gem. In my opinion this course was just 'tailor-made' for high school teachers."

In general, black South Africans found summer refresher courses to be valuable and that "we in South Africa, black and white, have a lot to learn from establishments such as summer institutes. Most of our future programs could be greatly boosted by running similar summer institutes."

Praise of American education was by no means limited to teachers. A South African businessman observed:

"The one thing we really admired the United States for was its system of education. To us, it appeared very wholesome. It appeared to prepare American children for world citizenry and world leadership as against other educational systems of some parts of the world which seem to prepare its young citizens for parochial purposes. Even in the Indian reservations of northern Arizona and northern New Mexico where people still lead a leisurely pastoral life, one finds some schools that compare favourably with some of our best South African white schools.

"From our fleeting observation it would appear the quality of teaching is also very good. With the quality of teacher America produces it would be very disappointing indeed if the teaching is not good. The conditions under which they work seemed satisfactory, too, although, as in the rest of the world, the teachers feel they are not well rewarded.

"The foregoing does not by any means imply that the U.S. educational system is infallible; what we are saying is that it works better than anything we have come across. For instance, there are aspects of their system which were not altogether palatable to us such as its inability to provide young Indian children with schools nearer their homes. It pained us to see toddlers of six years staying in an institution away from their parents for the most part of the year. However, what is important is that America recognises flaws in their system, and they are doing something about them."

A senior official who is concerned with the overall planning of Bantu education identified what he felt to be the "all embracing objectives of current schooling in the U. S.":

--every pupil attains grade level in the basic skills of reading and mathematics.

-- relations between schools, parents and community continue to improve and community involvement and support be increased.

--every pupil shows growth in developing constructive and creative attitudes and behavior based upon a healthy self image."

This visitor was struck by such programs as "head start," "pregnant girls' school annex," and "career development counseling," all of which he felt were creative innovations.

Numerous visitors remarked on the extra school aids to education such as museums and television. A Transkeian inspector of schools noted that "the South African student today is less fortunate than the American student who has many opportunities to visit places of scientific interest and watch the educative feature on TV. I am sure that much can be done in the future to stimulate students by this means in South Africa." This same man felt "duty bound to attempt to bring pressure to bear that our factual way of teaching science should undergo a drastic change towards the inquiry method of teaching."

Another teacher told of visiting the Benjamin Franklin Museum in Philadelphia: "My first experience of a planetarium. A universe in a cellar! And it was stunning! It whetted my appetite to see more wonders of science and I made up my mind to return the following morning, and I did."

A businessman and his wife "found America among the leading nations of the world in matters of culture. We attended concerts by such musical greats as the Philadelphia Symphony and the multi-racial symphony of New York. We saw plays in some of the best theatres in the world and saw artists of world class in action. In many museums and art galleries we viewed some of the best works of art. All this was a revelation to us." This "opening a whole new world" is a repeated theme among visitors, several of whom said they will do more of that kind of cultural activity, where allowed by law, on their return to South Africa.

II

Freedom -- Uses and Abuses

A senior African with administrative responsibility at home was highly critical of the American system of electing judges. He believes "they should be appointed. Americans should do something about that. If the judge is popular and becomes elected when a more suitable man is defeated, then it has only been a popularity contest. A judge should be able to administer law without feeling he will be voted out. He should be

above political attack. The American system is not healthy in this regard."

Although a white South African lawyer concluded from his visit that he believes "the greatest hope for American society lies in its tradition of tolerance of dissident groups," this was not echoed by black visitors, who were, in general, highly critical of young people in the United States. The following are typical of some of their comments:

- "--there is a lack of good manners, uncondoned behavior
- some campus protests are shocking and destructive
- attitudes towards the police are often unreasonable
- there are symptoms of moral decay in overpermissiveness, overemphasize on individual liberties, lawlessness, and an obsession with rights
- youth is often unattractive and undisciplined and over-indulged by parents
- a number of young people are not willing to work and accept responsibility as citizens of this beautiful country"

On the other hand, there were counter-observations, often from the same people, such as:

- "--the older generation is responsible for the American philosophy and defects in the established way of life of which young people are the products
- American youth are greatly mature for their age
- youth suffers from prejudice fostered by the mass media
- college students are both well-educated and concerned about their society"

On the whole, Africans were surprised by American methods of raising children and doubtful as to its results. As a Zulu put it:

"Considering the fact that we were brought up in a society where taboos play a big part in the upbringing of a child and where children are taught restraint in their behaviour before their elders, we were amazed at the freedom of the American children as compared to their counterparts in our society. Perhaps this explains the desire for the freedom of speech that the Americans protect so much in their adult life."

Most visitors were critical of the prevalence of nudity and pornography in movies and magazines, and none of our sample volunteered a liking for nor complete approval of the greater permissiveness in this area. While it is true that censorship of books and films has greatly

relaxed in South Africa over the last five years, this applies primarily to white readers and movie goers, because the censors maintain the custom of banning a paperback with a lurid cover which might be purchased by Africans, while allowing the book to appear in the expensive hard-cover edition. There is no ban against prosperous Africans purchasing such books, but the economic barrier in this case amounts to a form of selective censorship. As for films, the barriers are not economic but racial. Many films released in the United States for general viewing with no prohibitions against children attending are not available for viewing by Africans in South Africa. An economic barrier also occurs due to the demands of the African filmgoers in, say, the handsome new Elethu cinema in Soweto, which do not lean toward sophisticated or avant garde films. The lack of a concentrated group of educated Africans who might want to see such films makes booking them an economic hazard.

It is apparent from comments by African visitors that they are both surprised and shocked by what they consider overpermissiveness in the United States. A good many do not know what the movies are actually like, but make their judgments from the vivid, if often misleading, advertising outside the theaters or in the newspapers, where, by South African standards, the language is disgustingly explicit.

An African magistrate explained: "Advertisements for nude shows are rather great here. I was surprised by this. And the courts do not condemn this--judges refuse to interfere with previous court decisions. I think Americans have a different attitude than South Africans in finding it all right for people to expose themselves. In South Africa we consider it necessary for one to have something to cover the body. Americans are more relaxed about a person's physique. In South Africa there would be a cultural block."

One visitor related his experience when a black American friend took him to a "Go-Go" bar which featured white and black topless and bottomless dancers. The visitor had no more seated himself and began to sip his beer when a blonde girl came out on the stage a few feet away and began shaking her breasts at him. Much alarmed, he grabbed his companion's arm. In a panic, he said, "Let's get out of here before the police come," and he headed for the door. His American friend caught up with him outside and, according to the South African, succeeded in calming him down and convincing him that it was perfectly legal and they could go back inside to finish their drinks. The South African said he finally accepted the legality of the situation, but told his friend he felt "the performance was immoral." With his South African background, he felt he could not approve of it, and he could not return because of his personal beliefs.

III

Race Relations and Blackness

A wide range of reactions is produced by South African visitors when analogies are made between the racial problems in the USA and those of the RSA. Some defend the South African government's policy of separate homelands, although almost all offer criticisms of what newspapers such as Die Burger attack as "petty apartheid." But none of the visitors found the idea of black separatism in the United States attractive. A Transkeian official who supports Prime Minister Kaiser Matanzima said of the U. S.: "I don't suggest the central courts should be packed with black Judges. In the south I met about four. But there should be a greater number. There isn't that general distribution between black and white in such positions as an absence of discrimination would allow."

However, another visitor disagreed with the Transkeian official's point of view:

"I observed that a number of high and responsible posts are held by Negroes or black Americans as they choose to call themselves and the white Americans accept the position of serving under blacks. It is a healthy sign to see so many black judges elected by the public and a good sprinkling of black judges appointed. One Negro judge has been appointed a judge of the United States Supreme Court and I also met no less than four black women judges. The biggest social problems are drug addiction and armed robbery."

A Johannesburg artist rejected most concepts of "black art." He felt that "art is individual. I think I could survive as an artist anywhere. If there is value in blackness, it will survive. I have no fear of censorship in South Africa. I can say what I want to with my work without official interference. The black artists at home say what they feel like saying. We don't do art for art's sake, but always make a statement. I work with an artist at home, and we are both 'with it,' and he is white, not black. It should be the same way here. Black and white society at home are separate wheels, but the spokes touch most often in the cultural field and especially among artists. It seems to be the same here."

The same artist, incidentally, expressed a disapproval of "Afros." "I think the Afro hair style is a fad. It is a way of trying to show a certain personality, that they are black and still African. It doesn't symbolize anything. You don't find people in Africa who leave

their hair that way. "

A Durban businessman observed: "As there are not many Negro businesses in the large cities of the north, we made a tour of the southern states of Carolina and Georgia where, in spite of the renowned (sic) discriminatory practices, and possibly because of them, the Negroes have done remarkably well in business. Like most of their counterparts in South Africa, small businessmen were successful not because of proper planning and scientific control of their businesses, but because of their ideal locations. We observed some Negro operations that compare well with some of the best business houses we saw in the U. S. "

This man concluded:

"In a nutshell, all activities by the small businessman that we observed during our tour of the U. S. seemed to convey a message to us that the South African Bantu businessman is on the right track towards economic independence for himself and his people if he runs his business efficiently, for his success spells the success of his community. However, to play his role well, he must satisfy himself that he went into business for the right reasons and on the right basis. If he goes into business for the sake of earning money easily and for the sake of escaping the responsibility and hard work that is required in other fields of endeavour, he will have failed himself and his people.

"Further, to succeed the South African Bantu businessman must, like his American counterpart, prepare himself for paying the price of success in business in the form of self denial and self discipline. If he pays this price, his happiness and that of his people is assured. He may not even worry about bank loans unless it is for the purpose of expansion, in which case if his earlier operations have been successful, finance will look for him instead of him for it. "

While comparisons of racial problems in the two countries are common, one of the more fulsome admirers of the U. S. concluded, "Whilst we are full of praise for many things that are done in the United States both for itself and the world at large, we by no means suggest that other countries, like mine, must copy all that America does. On the contrary, there is a lot that must be rejected outright and a lot that must be copied and adjusted to suit local conditions. "

A man who has been successful in South Africa and is admired by government officials with whom he works summarized his view of race relations:

"America has its liberals, racists, conservatives and radicals just like any country, but it is making a determined effort to give equal opportunities to all its citizens irrespective of race or color. Its policy is to integrate its black minority into the American main stream. Although de jure there is no discrimination against the blacks, de facto this still exists. The upsurge of black nationalism which advocates black separatism must be an embarrassment to the liberals. The black Americans are the more advanced of the minority groups. The position of the American Indian in the reservations can be equated with that of the Africans in the Bantu homelands in South Africa. The basic difference, however, is that the Indians are at liberty to leave the reservations and join the life stream of the cities, whereas their counterparts in South Africa are subject to influx control which precludes them from going to seek work in the cities without a permit. A vigorous vocational training program funded by the Federal government has been undertaken for migrant Mexican Americans with a view to assisting them to secure suitable jobs in the cities.

"On the other hand South Africa with a black majority has adopted a policy of separation of races or apartheid as a solution to the racial problem. I do not doubt the sincerity of the South African Government when it states that it will grant full autonomy to the homelands but it remains to be seen whether this will be the answer to the racial problem."

An artist who complained that he could not communicate with many Americans because he found them "too materialistic" was still impressed by how hard Americans work. He also thought them unusually well-informed on a wide variety of subjects, anywhere from automobiles to art. He observed:

"No distinction is drawn between white and black Americans in this regard. They seem to get along very well together. The black American would not be happy in Africa. I think the black American hardly realizes how American he is. The skin color is superficial. It is fine for him to think about Africa--but black Americans could never feel African like I do. They are so very much American. You can easily tell. We have one from Los Angeles who is now in Soweto. He is married with two kids, but you can immediately tell he is an American by his mannerisms."

Other attitudes towards black Americans ranged from a deep feeling of kinship ("They suffer just the way we do, but we will solve our problems in South Africa before the Americans do") to an open hostility when black Americans criticized the Africans for not being more politically active and successful, and consequently occupying a position of low esteem in their own country.

IV

General Comments

A number of the visiting Africans whose views are summarized were small businessmen. Along with teachers, they seemed most interested in learning mechanisms or ideas which they could apply to their own enterprises. One such visitor apparently learned not only about business practices while he was in the United States but also about the mechanics of local politics, for he was subsequently elected "Mayor" of Soweto, the great sprawling series of African townships outside of Johannesburg.

Another man interested in banking made a study of the "methods that could be employed in assisting small business men in the urban areas of South Africa where facilities for obtaining financial assistance from either government agencies or white private enterprise are non-existent. Although in theory commercial banks can, and in rare cases do, extend credit to the urban Bantu, in practice it is just not done. The yardstick by which the banks determine qualification for credit are so complicated to the average Bantu trader as to be prohibitive. Hence, the Bantu, like the American Negro, assumes that he is discriminated against because of his colour.

"I noted that in an eastern city, a young Negro lawyer businessman, in spite of his politics which were anything but pro-white, had helped many clients to process their applications for loans and had obtained credit from one of the largest and most conservative banks in the U. S. This observation was subsequently confirmed by the spokesman of the said bank in a financial newspaper report.

"My studies revealed that before any application for a loan can be submitted for consideration by a bank, the applicant must satisfy the bank that his credit rating is good. In other words he must be able to produce evidence showing that he is of good character, that he can be trusted with monies and that he is capable of repaying the money loaned. "

His observations are of interest because among the most sought after black American visitors to South Africa have been those with experience of a financial nature to share. One such highly successful man was a banker from North Carolina, who has served in various U. S. Presidential Commissions. He has made two visits to South Africa, where he worked with and advised African and Coloured businessmen while at the same time being swamped with social invitations from prominent Afrikaner businessmen. Another U. S. visitor to South Africa had taken time from being President of a large university in Texas to start a wide range of black enterprises. After being very successful in imparting useful knowledge in South Africa, he became a friendly advisor for visiting black South African businessmen.

A businessman from Durban, who has headed the National African Associated Chambers of Commerce, made three observations:

"1. Talking of well-run black business houses brings to mind memories of the fruitful discussions with the proprietor of the Oxford Shop in Bloomington, Indiana, and a graduate of the School of Business at the University. He runs a small chain of shops selling quality clothing mainly to university students. His demonstrations to us on how he controls his business through information extracted from ordinary cash registers was very interesting.

"2. America is fortunate in having a large number of mature businessmen who have been forced by compulsory retirement age laws to retire at the peak of their careers. Most of these businessmen can and do offer much useful guidance to emerging businessmen.

"3. An intensive program of this kind with consultants and counsellors is long overdue in South Africa. Admittedly, efforts have been made in the past by the white Junior Chambers of Commerce and certain Afrikaans business organizations to hold seminars for Bantu businessmen; but these seminars lacked the intensity, the continuity and the follow-up of programs such as

the ICBO, Interracial Council for Business Opportunity, in the U.S. Another criticism of the South African experiment has been the tendency on the part of the lecturers to talk down to seminar participants. This of course could be remedied by briefing lecturers and counsellors on correct methods of approach as is done by American programs. But above all, the South African programs will have to answer the cry of practising businessmen for financial assistance and guidance which some of the American programs such as the ICBO have answered so well.

"Another important step that has been taken by the U. S. is that of training its young men and women in business at graduate school level. We were fortunate to observe this type of training in operation at Indiana University and Texas Southern University. Admittedly, even in America it appears the impact of the graduates of these schools has not been felt in small business circles. Most of them have been absorbed by big business. But the few that are involved in programs for upgrading small businessmen are proving their worth beyond expectations. For instance, in New York the ICBO program is headed by one of these graduates.

"In our opinion, it is not too early for Bantu business organisations to consider seriously sending young men and women to schools that offer such training, and we shall make it our duty to so recommend when we get back to South Africa."

Many Africans were curious about what questions would be asked of them in the United States about their country. Our sample-- which is subject to the caveats expressed in the preface--found on the whole that most of the Americans they met imagined conditions in South Africa to be worse for Africans than the visitors themselves said they were. An older African (again the relative lack of young people probably filters out more militant opinions) said he was asked, "Has there been a general change in the attitude of whites towards Africans in the last five years?" He said he replied, "Yes, there has been a definite change. Before the Transkei government came into existence there were no Africans in business at all there. Now the Europeans (sic) are mostly replaced by Africans. Before, Europeans looked down on Africans as inferior. Now Europeans treat us with some respect. For instance, I think I enjoy as much respect as any white official. It is a mutual respect. When I started my professional career, I was often discriminated against in the Transkei, and I was not accepted by whites. But now they accept me and my decisions."

A highly successful, but not very articulate, Johannesburg

sculptor was repeatedly patronized on his visit to the U. S. by both white and black artists. One of the unintentionally patronizing conversations involved a well-known California artist who asked the black South African whether he worked in clay or wood. The artist answered, "bronze." The American artist then asked how the man supported himself. The answer: "By art." After further conversation, the American waxed enthusiastic and suggested in a helpful spirit that perhaps the sculptor should try out for the Venice or Sao Paulo Bienalle. The South African said he had already exhibited at both. The slightly flushed American continued brightly that in such an event the sculptor should find a dealer in New York or London. The Johannesburg artist said his works were available on Fifth Avenue and on Bond Street. Apparently still undaunted, the American then stated somewhat rhetorically that it must be nice for the artist not to have to return to South Africa. To this the sculptor's reply was slightly more expansive. "No, I must get back soon, because the architect needs some guidance on my new two-story house in Soweto."

On balance, the particular group of black South African visitors on which it has been possible to find material is very favorably impressed with the United States. These people believe that they learned much which can be applied in their daily lives in South Africa.

Although it is not the primary purpose of this NOTE, it may be useful to make a few generalizations comparing the reactions of African, Afrikaner, and English-speaking white visitors from South Africa. All of these groups were impressed with the immense size of the United States and the tremendous speed and dynamism present here. All three groups encountered a high level of hospitality. The Afrikaners and the Africans had the most in common in the social conservatism present in their attitudes toward American dress, television, people in general, and not wanting their children to adopt many of the life patterns of American children. The Africans and the English-speaking whites had most in common in the admiration they felt for civil rights activities and areas of racial equality. They also shared adverse views towards the racial discrimination they had observed in both the north and the south of the United States. Clearly, in the 1950's, many English-speaking whites and many Africans considered the U. S. a model they would like for race relations to follow in South Africa. Afrikaners were defensive during this period. More recently, the mimetic factor has dropped noticeably in the reactions of visitors. This has caused some people who favored white South African visitors to the United States, as a possible way of changing racial patterns in South Africa, to lose heart and to doubt the value of exchange from such a perspective.

WHAT ARE YOUR OPINIONS OF AMERICA?

	SEX		AGE				ETHNIC GROUP		LEVEL OF EDUCATION				
Total	Male	Female	16-24	25-34	35-49	50+	Nguni	Sotho/ Other	None	Up to Stan- dard 5	Standard 6-8	Standard 9 and higher	Total Believing America is the Leading Country
Total Respondents.	245 100%	255 100%	116 100%	159 100%	160 100%	65 100%	220 100%	280 100%	53 100%	166 100%	208 100%	73 100%	76 100%
<u>AMERICA:</u>													
<u>POSITIVE:</u>													
No apartheid/segregation/colour bar/have equal rights/freedom/democratic/no reference books/movement of speech.	14.7	5.5	11.2	13.8	6.9	6.2	11.4	8.9	1.9	5.4	14.9	12.3	25.0
Advanced/excell in civilisation/clever.	10.2	4.3	6.9	10.1	6.9	1.5	8.2	6.4	5.7	2.4	7.2	19.2	26.3
Very good/becoming good in sport.	9.0	3.5	10.3	7.5	3.8	1.5	5.9	6.4	-	3.6	10.6	4.1	15.8
The people are living happily/better than here/high standard of living.	7.3	3.5	9.5	6.3	3.8	-	5.9	5.0	-	3.6	8.7	4.1	13.2
Education is good/higher than ours.	4.9	5.1	4.3	5.7	6.3	1.5	5.0	5.0	1.9	3.6	6.3	6.8	13.2
It's a good/wonderful country/like the people (nothing else specified).	4.9	4.3	4.3	8.2	3.1	-	4.5	4.6	5.7	3.0	6.3	2.7	5.3
Big buildings/leading in industry/space research/science.	7.8	1.2	4.3	5.7	3.8	3.1	5.5	3.6	-	1.8	4.3	13.7	19.7
Exports the best clothing/quality clothing/ famous for clothing.	4.1	3.1	3.4	3.8	4.4	1.5	2.3	4.6	-	1.8	4.3	3.2	13.2
Supplies us with wool, oil, shoes, cars, etc..	4.1	2.7	3.4	3.8	3.8	1.5	3.2	3.6	1.9	1.8	4.3	5.5	9.2
Is rich/financially stable.	6.5	-	1.7	3.1	5.0	1.5	3.2	3.2	1.9	0.6	4.3	6.8	9.2
Good in music/singing.	2.4	3.5	3.4	3.8	3.1	-	2.7	3.2	-	3.0	4.3	1.4	6.6
No robberies like in South Africa/no fights/ crimes/tortises/prevent crime.	2.0	2.4	4.3	2.5	0.6	1.5	1.8	2.5	1.9	1.8	2.9	1.4	2.6
Aids African states.	0.4	0.4	-	-	0.6	1.5	-	0.7	-	1.2	-	-	-
Other positive ...	0.4	-	0.9	-	-	-	-	0.4	-	-	0.5	-	-
59	79	40	68	74	52	21	60	58	21	34	77	86	159

WHAT ARE YOUR OPINIONS OF AMERICA?

		SEX		AGE				ETHNIC GROUP		LEVEL OF EDUCATION				Total believing America is the Leading Country
	Total	Male	Female	16-24	25-34	35-49	50+	Nguni	Sotho/ Other	None	Up to Stan- dard 5	Standard 6-8	Standard 9 and higher	
Total Respondents.....	500 100%	245 100%	255 100%	116 100%	159 100%	160 100%	65 100%	220 100%	280 100%	53 100%	166 100%	208 100%	73 100%	76 100%
<u>AMERICA:</u>														
<u>NEGATIVE:</u>														
No peace/lots of riots/turmoil/racial clashes/problems/war.....	5.2	6.5	3.9	4.3	3.1	9.4	1.5	5.5	5.0	1.9	3.0	5.3	12.3	2.6
Murder/kill each other/kill leaders/ assassinations/killed Kennedy.....	5.0	7.8	2.4	0.9	4.4	8.1	6.2	5.5	4.6	-	2.4	7.2	8.2	2.6
High crime rate/full of gangsters/criminals/ robberies/rough country.....	4.0	6.1	2.0	0.9	3.8	8.1	-	4.1	3.9	1.9	3.0	3.4	9.6	3.9
It's not a good country/don't like it/mad people (nothing else specified).....	1.0	1.2	0.8	0.9	-	1.9	1.5	0.9	1.1	1.9	1.2	1.0	-	-
Practise apartheid - they must stop pretending not to practise it.....	1.0	1.2	0.8	-	1.3	1.9	-	1.8	0.4	-	0.6	1.0	2.7	-
Selfish/uses other countries to achieve what it has.....	0.2	0.4	-	-	-	0.6	-	0.5	-	-	-	-	1.4	1.3
Other negative comments.....	1.0 17	1.2 24	0.8 11	7	1.9 15	0.6 31	1.5 11	0.5 19	1.4 16	- 6	1.8 12	1.0 19	- 34	1.3 12

WHAT ARE YOUR OPINIONS OF AMERICA?

		SEX		AGE				ETHNIC GROUP		LEVEL OF EDUCATION				Total believing America is the Leading Country
	Total	Male	Female	16-24	25-34	35-49	50+	Nguni	Sotho/ Other	None	Up to Stan- dard 5	Standard 6-8	Standard 9 and higher	
Total Respondents.....	500 100%	245 100%	255 100%	116 100%	159 100%	160 100%	65 100%	220 100%	280 100%	53 100%	166 100%	208 100%	73 100%	76 100%
<u>AMERICA:</u>														
<u>COMMENTS WERE:</u>														
Positive only.....	36.0	42.4	29.8	46.6	44.0	28.1	16.9	38.6	33.9	13.2	21.1	49.5	47.9	84.2
Positive and Negative.....	2.0	3.7	0.4	-	2.5	3.1	1.5	2.7	1.4	-	1.8	1.9	4.1	2.6
Negative only.....	10.4	12.7	8.2	5.2	8.8	16.9	7.7	10.0	10.7	3.8	7.2	10.6	21.9	6.6
Do not know.....	51.6 100	41.2 100	61.6 100	48.3 100	44.7 100	51.9 100	73.8 100	48.6 100	53.9 100	83.0 100	69.9 100	38.0 100	26.0 100	6.6 100

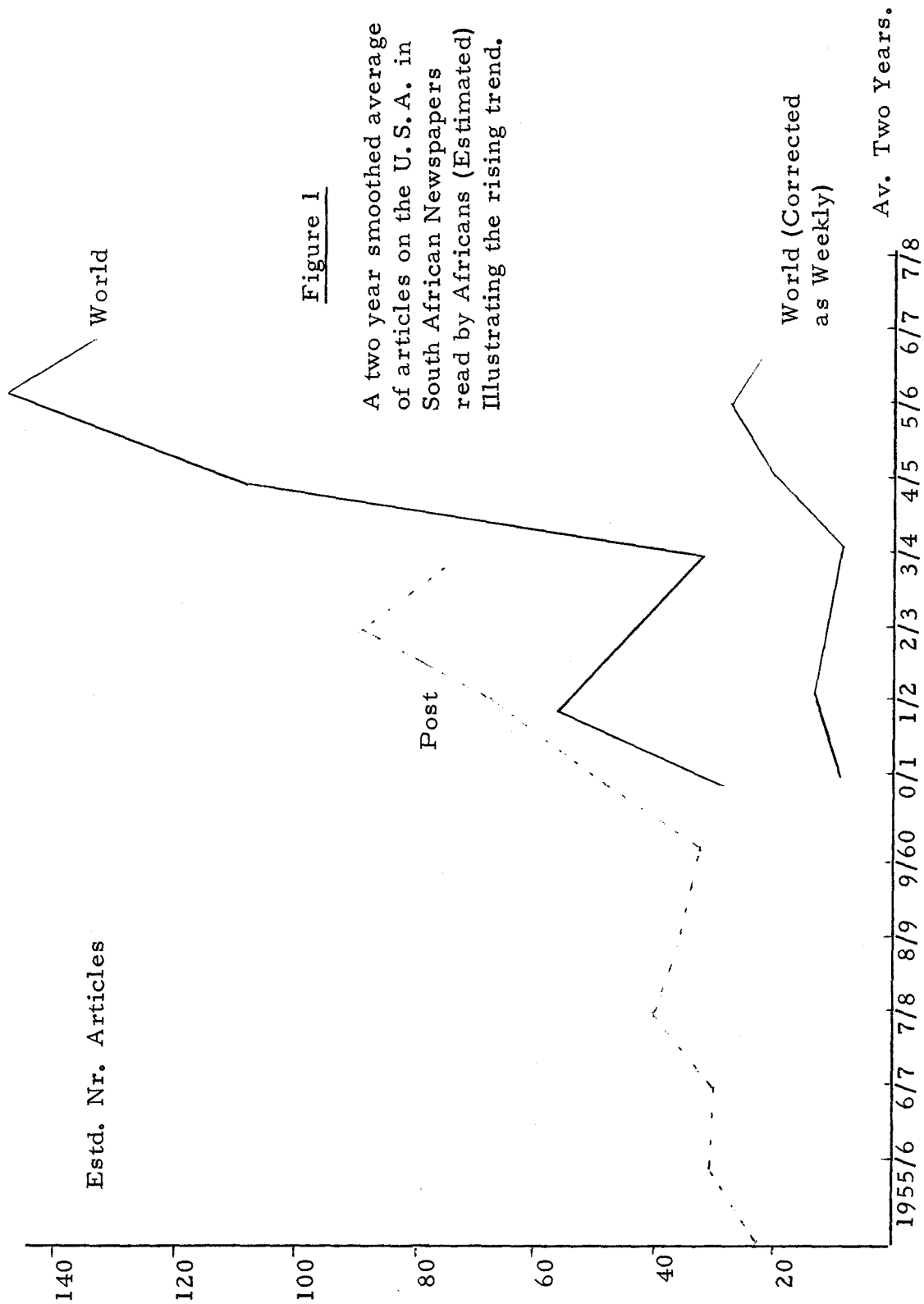
Appendix II

Professor Edward Feit

"The main interest of Africans in South Africa, if the pages of the papers are any guide, is in their own affairs, and especially the goings on in the townships. In spite of this, the sense of discrimination which Africans feel has, it would seem, stimulated a small interest in race relations in America. This, it must be emphasized, is small compared with coverage of other states on the African continent, but the growth in number of articles on the United States can be explained in part through growing interest in race relations in the United States itself. This upsurge of interest, if upsurge is the right word, is evident from Figure 1, which is a two-year smoothed average of the number of articles appearing in Post and World for 1955/6 through 1964/5 and 1960/1 through 1966/7 respectively.* There is also a graph for World corrected as a weekly. The curve for Post is more useful here, and the rise illustrates what is meant. In both cases, a gross increase in reporting on America is evident. But the relationship of articles on America to other articles in the paper must also be borne in mind, for though World published over 140 pieces on the United States in 1966/7 - a peak year - about 2,500 articles (exclusive of photographs and cartoons) had appeared in that year. The proportion on America, even in that time of plenty, was only little more than 5 per cent of all articles.

"The growth of interest in America can, thus, partly be accounted for by the growing support given civil rights causes both by the late President John F. Kennedy and by former President Lyndon Johnson, when both were in office. But this was not the only reason. The passing

*The technique of a two-year smoothed average is fairly simple, and just averages results. For instance, the total number of articles estimated for 1955 are added to the total for 1956 and averaged. Then the results for 1956 are added to those of 1957 and averaged, and so on. This gives a rough trend curve. Actually a three year smoothed average might have been better, but it would have led to very much shorter, and less helpful, curves.



of the Criminal Laws Amendment Act in South Africa in 1962 made reporting of much of township politics virtually impossible. The Act was designed to prevent the reporting of the doings and sayings of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress who had largely been the pacemakers of African politics in the country. Civil rights in America can thus be viewed as a substitute taken up by the newspapers. American events could be a harmless surrogate for the South African events that now could no longer be reported. This is, of course, only surmise. But the arguments would, on the face of things, seem reasonable. Nevertheless, one can speak of a trend of growing although mild interest in America.

"The importance of different articles, in terms of the number of items of each, also serves as an indicator of interest. The table of Figure 2 serves to show the direction of interest in this way. The importance of race relations as a theme is immediately evident. This is followed closely by foreign policy, understandable as much of this deals with U. S. relations with South Africa, and sport, entertainment, crime, and so on. The different distribution between Post and World is immediately evident. Post is obviously the more cosmopolitan newspaper and this may be because it seeks to cater to Coloured and Indian readers as well as Africans, whereas World does not. In addition, as mentioned before, Post is a national paper, and World is confined to the Witwatersrand, the towns on the gold-bearing reef of which Johannesburg is by far the most important. Nevertheless, once again, the relative paucity of articles on America is evident. This is the more striking if the number of articles in a single issue of World, say, is considered. World had about 50 articles of every kind in a single issue, excluding as always cartoons and captioned photographs. Post generally had about 10 more. This means that the entire 10 years series on, say, race relations, could be packed into two-and-a-half daily issues of World.¹

¹ This is not, of course, a problem confined to the African press in South Africa. The space that can be devoted to what Ben Bagdikian has called real news has been steadily diminishing in American dailies. In 1940 the space devoted to advertising was 40 per cent, and this is now 60 per cent. Even then the real news takes up only 38 per cent of the non-advertising space in big city dailies, or 15 per cent of the whole paper. In some papers hard news is only on one page in twenty-four. See Bagdikian's article "Why Dailies Die," reprinted in Lewis A. Dexter and David Manning, (eds.), People, Society, and Mass Communications, (New York: 1964), p. 219.

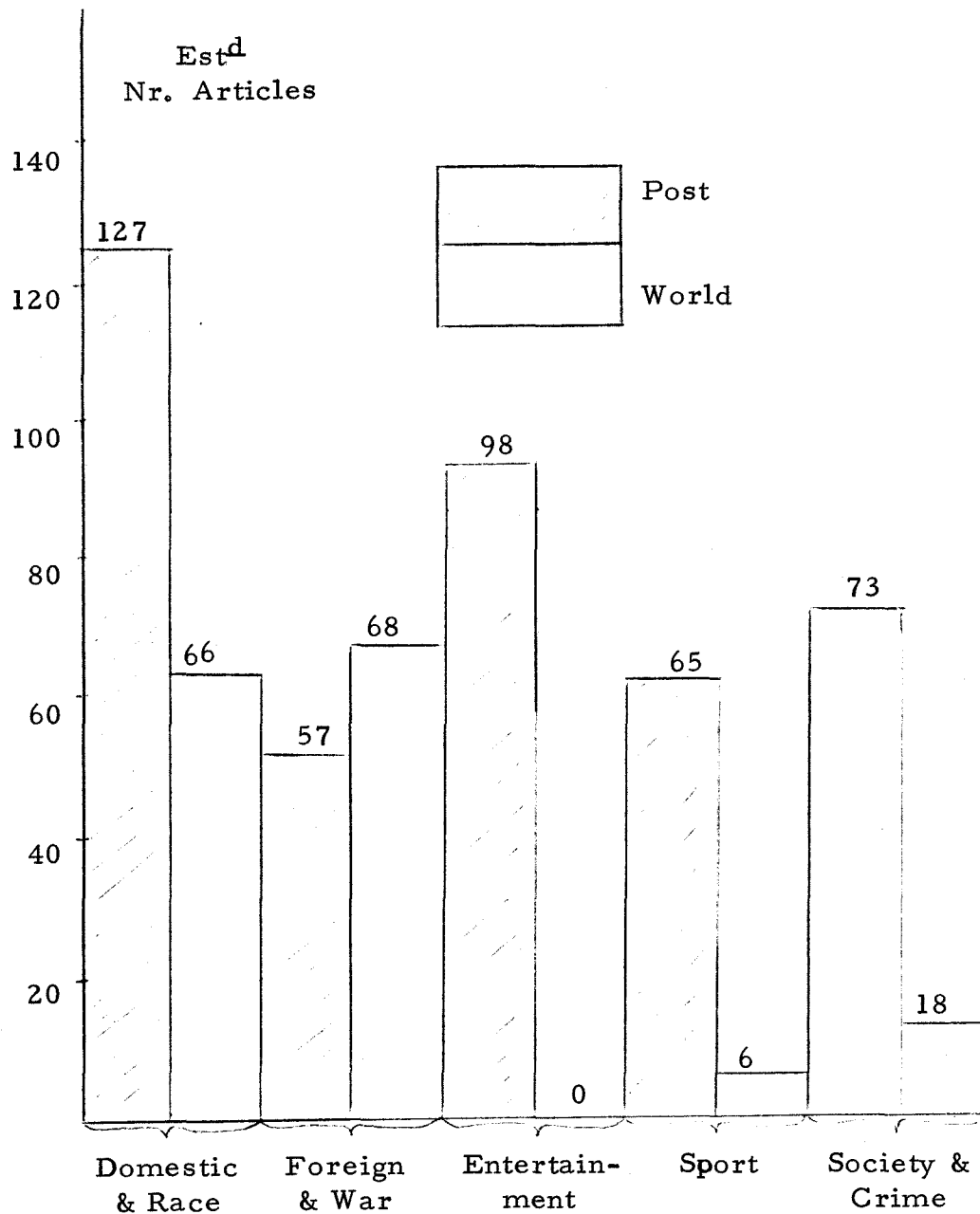


Figure 2. Distribution of articles among themes in the years 1955-1964.

"The material included under the heading U. S. Domestic Policy is concerned essentially with actions of the American governments, federal, state, or local, which were reported in the papers surveyed. This included not only matters of legislation but also the antics of incumbents of office. Articles included under this rubric dealt with such things as the Bobby Baker scandal, filibusters, and presidential election campaigns.¹ It also encompassed such things as a plea that an African medical doctor in America should not be deported because he outstayed the validity of his visa.² On the credit side were news items on the appointment of Negroes to high government positions.³ Race relations generally dealt with clearly definable topics, among them such matters as strikes, demonstrations, and organizations and personalities involved in the civil rights movement.

"If the rubric race relations was fairly clear cut and involved no great problems in classification, the same cannot be said for Society which, in the end, became a kind of grab-bag of articles difficult to classify elsewhere. The things covered included a visit by African churchmen to America, and the visit of an African to Livingstone College in North Carolina, which was described as the alma mater of the well-known West African educator, Dr. Aggrey.⁴ The kind of grey area for which Society provided a suitable pigeon-hole was, for instance, the matter of Cassius Clay's draft suit. Clay is now, of course, known as Mohamed Ali, a name he adopted on becoming a Black Moslem. In such a case, neither sport nor race relations are really the issue. The case borders on both, and was placed in Society, as all alternatives seemed to fail.⁵ The head Crime, on the other hand, seems clear cut, though here the borderline cases dealt with involved murders that might (or might not) have been racially inspired. The assassination of, for example, Martin Luther King, would involve some discussion, though the

¹ The issues of World of June 11, 1964, January 25, 1966, and April 5, 1952 contain the specific articles referred to. These are, of course, only a fraction of the titles.

² Post, October 15, 1961.

³ Post, September 9, 1962.

⁴ World, January 3, 1967, and January 3, 1953, respectively.

⁵ World, June 27, 1967, included a letter from one "Stardust Green" saying that "Big Lips," presumably Mohamed Ali, should be "jailed for keeps." Other articles dealt with Ali's marital problems, which also could hardly be included as "sport," the heading in which his other fights were listed.

matter was settled as race relations. Crime, therefore, mostly concerned acts that had no particular racial overtones. Some of the cases reported were, to put it mildly, bizarre. One such was that of a California employee who shot his boss in order to break the "hex" his boss had put on him.¹ However, as witchcraft plays an important part in the lives of many Africans, the case would not sound as far fetched as might seem.² Articles of this kind, whatever their validity, contribute to the image of America, and are therefore interesting in this context.

¹ Post, October 15, 1961. The crime rate was frequently played up, and the soaring crime rate was mentioned in a feature of June 21 in World. Similarly, Post ran a series on the killing of Lee Harvey Oswald, which was specially prominent in the sample of March 22, 1964.

² J. C. de Ridder, The Personality of the Urban African in South Africa: A Thematic Apperception Test Study, (London: Routledge, 1961). p. 161-162.

Appendix III

A 1963 study for the Institute of Race Relations (Johannesburg) by E. A. Brett touched lightly on attitudes towards the U. S. by Africans in Johannesburg. The middle class Africans surveyed evinced more interest in the United States than in any other country, with the Soviet Union placing second. Most Africans had a favorable image of the United States, listing scientific advances, the leadership of John F. Kennedy, and the American role in jazz and sports as their principal reasons. One journalist stressed that he believed that "Unlike in this country, the U. S. A. government is working for the upliftment of all the races who live in the country."

Those in the survey who were negative in attitude cited as their main reason the discrimination in the U. S. which they had read about in South African publications. Second, they voiced the feeling that the U. S. was bent upon the exploitation of the developing world.

Appendix IV

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

From the point of view of obtaining an indication of the general or collective positive-negative orientation or feeling of white South Africans towards the United States and its people, the question "What are your general impressions of the U. S. A. and its people?" must be considered the most important question in the questionnaire. The bar-chart below summarizes the results obtained and indicates the approximate relative distribution of respondents according to favourable - unfavourable impressions:

GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF THE U. S. A. AND ITS PEOPLE

